

What Socialism Is and What It Will Accomplish

(By C. F. Dight, M. D., University of Minnesota.)

A majority of the American people have not yet investigated Socialism. I shall, therefore, state briefly what it is and what it will accomplish that the readers may know the right or wrong of the Socialist movement, which has become third in the country in the number of votes cast, and much stronger in other countries.

Socialism is a world-wide movement of the working class and its sympathizers to have the products of labor go to those who produce them; in other words, to secure for the producers of wealth the wealth which they produce, that they may be better housed, better fed, better educated and live a longer and better life.

The world's headquarters of the Socialist movement is in Brussels. The American headquarters is in Chicago. The international party is about 8,000,000 strong in actual votes cast and is growing amazingly.

Broadly it urges: First—That the means of production and distribution of wealth that are social and public in their nature shall be owned collectively. This includes the great wealth of raw material in the earth—oil, coal, iron—which the Almighty created for all men alike, and machinery for its elaboration and distribution which machinery the workers have made but do not own.

Second—That all social utilities, being collectively owned, shall be democratically managed for the benefit of all who work, and that profit-making, whereby one person exploits another, shall be abolished.

Third—That all who can labor shall be given opportunity to labor in the collectively owned industries, and when Socialism is full-fledged, shall receive, directly and indirectly, the full product or equivalent of their toil, and until then a wage just as near the selling value of their product as is possible.

Fourth—That those who can, but will not labor, though they may, should there be such under Socialism, shall receive according to what they produce—nothing if they produce nothing.

Fifth—That each person may own privately as much non-productive property as he or she can earn by an honest labor of hand or brain. This would include your home, your library or automobile, yacht and all other private personal effects not used for exploiting purposes.

Sixth—That child labor in gainful occupations and productive industry shall be abolished, juvenile education made universal, and that the old and worthy dependents shall have their interests protected and needs supplied.

Seventh—That the government shall be brought near to the people through the initiative, referendum and the right of recall. By the initiative is meant the right of the people to themselves directly propose laws and by a majority vote to make laws that shall govern them. The referendum requires that laws made by our legislators shall, before they become effective, be approved by a majority vote of the people. The right of recall is the power which the people should have immediately to recall from office an offending official when the majority of the people by vote desire it.

Socialist believe that Socialism, by abolishing the profit-making system in business, and by establishing the co-operative commonwealth, will remove more than anything else proposed, the motive as well as the opportunity for political corruption and economic wrongs, and without destroying individual liberty or the incentive to any worthy effort.

Socialism is not anarchy. It is as different from anarchy as is light from darkness or good from evil.

1. The Encyclopedia Britannica says: "The ethics of Socialism are closely akin to the ethics of Christianity, if not identical with them."

2. Prof. R. P. Ely says: "It is applied Christianity—the golden rule applied to everyday life."

3. F. G. Peabody, professor of Christian morals in Harvard university, says: "Jesus was a Socialist, if judged by His teachings."

4. Emile de Laveleye says: "Every Christian who understands and who earnestly accepts the teachings of his Master, is at heart a Socialist."

5. Dr. Lyman Abbott, while not a Socialist, says: "The tendency of the times is towards Socialism; nothing can prevent it, and nothing should prevent it."

6. Father William Barry says: "Let no man fear the name of Socialism; the movement of the working class for justice by any other name would be

as terrible."

7. Our scientist, Grant Allen, was a Socialist; and Alfred Russell Wallace, who is perhaps the leading scientist in the world today, accepts fully the teachings of Socialism.

8. Rev. Father McGrady, who died last year, said: "Under Socialism religion will conquer the globe, education will expand and science will dazzle the world with its glittering sheen." Socialism, however, is not a religion, but strictly an economic and moral question.

9. "Socialism requires that the process of production and distribution shall be regulated, not by competition with self-interest for its moving principle, but by society as a whole, for the good of society."—Dictionary of Political Economy.

10. "A theory of society that advocates a more precise, orderly and harmonious arrangement of the social relations that that which has hitherto prevailed."—Webster's Dictionary.

11. "A science of reconstructing society on an entirely new basis by substituting the principle of association for that of competition in every branch of industry."—Worcester's Dictionary.

12. "Government and co-operation are in all things and eternally the law of life; anarchy and competition, eternally and in all things the law of death."—John Ruskin.

13. "Socialism being the product of social evolution, the only danger lies in obstructing it."—Rev. F. Sprague.

What Socialism will accomplish by abolishing our competitive and profit-making methods in business, and by establishing co-operative methods are in part as follows:

Socialism will abolish wage slavery with its oppression.

It will advance the worker's wages from a bare subsistence wage to the full value of the product of his labor, increasing his income several fold.

It will eliminate class distinctions based on wealth, and will establish social and economic justice.

It will establish the dignity of labor and rank it above capital.

The production of an overabundance of commodities of life and comfort will not, under Socialism, cause distress and need as now, by closing down mills, workshops and other industries.

The more wealth you produce the more you will possess, instead of adding it, as now, to the capital and exploiting power of the master class.

You will escape the ironical fact of capitalism that as wages advance living expenses increase, for all commodities will be supplied at cost—the value of a "social labor hour" being the basis on which the price of commodities may be determined.

Under Socialism you will own an equal share with Rockefeller in the oil industry, with Morgan in the steel trust and with all others in the tools of industry; you will escape from the grip which the private owners of the machines now have on your life and liberty.

There will be a vast saving of labor and expense through the economy of co-operation in doing work, and the workday for all workers will yield larger results in wealth production than now, and might be shortened if we desired it.

By giving the wealth producer five-fifths of the output value of his toil, instead of one-fifth, as capitalism does, it will promote marriage and re-establish the home which capitalism has largely destroyed among the laboring masses.

Socialism will immediately, on its adoption, begin to remove the need, if there be such, for the brothel and the saloon, and will soon eliminate them both. Under it you can be clean in business and Christianlike seven days in the week, instead of on Sunday only, as now, which makes you a hypocrite all the time, even against your will, because of our competitive methods. It will reform politicians and make them upright men.

It will restrain human selfishness, stop graft and promote brotherhood and honesty. Every person may "live on Easy Street," for the producer of wealth will be its possessor. Girl clerks getting the value of \$25 or \$50 per week in department stores, instead of \$3 as now, will not be asked by the Christian (?) manager, "Can you not get a gentleman friend to help you?"

Socialism will make the good of the public a dominating thought and true democracy a realized condition. Merit will be the basis of reward.

It will cause the labor-saving machine to fulfill its greatest possible good. It will give employment to all workers during their productive years.

It will remove the fear of want and poverty. It will stop child labor in productive industries and give all children equal opportunity for an education. It will pension and protect the old. It will make it easy to follow the good precepts of the Man of Galilee.

Socialism will end strikes, lockouts, lost jobs and the ever present war that is waged between capital and labor. It will end the deceptions of a hundred kinds that are practiced for profit-making. It will eliminate disease to a large degree by bringing within easy reach of all those chief conditions upon which health depends—plenty of pure air and sunlight; enough good food and healthful drinks; cleanliness, proper clothing and shelter; regular periods for and sufficient rest, sleep, and exercise.

Socialism will start the human race on the highway to quick attainment of such perfection in ourselves, physically, mentally and morally, and in our environments as the world has never seen.

If we can, with any certainty at all, forecast the results of the operation of any new economic system or plan of concerted action before it is actually put into operation, we feel confident that Socialism will do all that we have claimed for it.

Individualism (capitalism) demands profits in the production and exchange of commodities. Socialism demands that production and exchange of commodities be for use purposes and not for profits.

Socialism stands for co-operation and is constructive. It builds for the benefit of all. "To teach as his work shall be" is its motto.

Individualism stands for competition and is destructive. Through competition it tears down. It destroys more and more the interests of the less successful and enlarges the interests of the more successful, until already one per cent of the people of the United States own more wealth than all the remaining 99 per cent of the people put together, and ten millions of our people are constantly underfed, badly clothed and poorly housed.

Gompers Takes Determined Stand

"They Can Take Their Pound of Flesh, But There is No Yellow Streak in It."

"The right to boycott is inherent in every man and we are going to stand by it," declared Samuel Gompers, president of the American Federation of Labor, in a lecture on "Trades Unions and Social Progress" under the auspices of the Ethical Social League at the East Side Parish House, 9 Second avenue, Thursday night.

"I don't like to boycott," he continued, "and whatever you may think as to my provocations I will say there is no person in the world against whom I bear ill will. But there are some persons I will not trade with. And when I get one or more men to take the same position it is called a boycott. Our revolutionary fathers boycotted. They would not buy the Englishmen's tea and would not buy from any person who did. That was a real secondary boycott. From the time of Adam and Eve the boycott by another name has been a universal weapon of mankind, and for a court to throw itself into a spasm because the word is not euphonious is incomprehensible to a rational person."

Right to Patronage.

"Men say they don't like the sign on the United Cigar Stores and won't buy there. That is all right, but the principle applies as well to the cigar store as it does to a Buck stove or a range. (Cheers.) You have a right to give patronage or to withhold it; to restore, or to transfer it."

"I hold as a legal right, as a fundamental right, the right to bestow or withhold patronage; in other words, to boycott. The question of the boycott of one company or another company shrinks into insignificance, however, when compared to the importance of the injunction which has been used against myself and others."

"That injunction prohibits the right of you and of me to speak or write on a certain subject, thereby depriving us of that freedom of speech guaranteed to us by the constitution, and I say now, as I have said before, that when it comes to making a choice between obeying or violating an injunction of a court which would deprive me of my constitutional guarantee I will have no hesitation in standing for the constitutional guarantee."

Denied Right of Jury.

"If you publish or write anything that is libelous or seditious you can

UNDER CAPITALISM AND UNDER SOCIALISM.

Under the capitalist system of today:

The men who make fine clothes wear shoddy garments

The men who build houses live in hovels.

The men who make motor cars walk.

The men who build ocean liners cannot afford to travel abroad.

The men who do the hardest and dirtiest work get the lowest reward.

The men who have transformed the world have no legal right to live in it.

Under a Socialist system, however—

The right to work, which means the right to live, would be an established fact.

The men who work will get the full product of their labor.

No man will be able to live upon the labor of his fellows unless he be incapacitated through age or illness.

Every man will be well fed, well clothed, and well housed.

Every man will have opportunities for culture, for travel, and for leisure.

The world will become a thing of beauty and will belong to the workers of the world.

MUNICIPAL OWNERSHIP SUCCEEDS IN MANITOBA.

Winnipeg, Man., Feb. 6.—Under government ownership Manitoba's telephone system shows a surplus of \$250,000 for the first year. In January, 1908, the provincial government bought the Bell Telephone company's plant, lines and equipment for \$4,000,000.

In certain classes of business rates were reduced, but it was not deemed practicable to make many reductions on account of heavy expenditures in running 600 miles of new longdistance lines and in opening a large number of new exchanges, besides building many rural systems. In a few days reductions are promised of from 25 to 40 per cent.

Socialist Play is Crowned a Success Sinclair's First of Trio

"The Second Story Man."
"John D."
"The Indignant Subscriber."
Three sketches by Upton Sinclair, which will be produced throughout California to further the Socialist movement. The first is the story of a burglar created by social injustice. The second pictures Rockefeller submitting to an interview. The third deals with a newspaper reader who resents predatory journalism.

San Francisco, Feb. 6.

By invitation, several score of Upton Sinclair's friends and those interested in his work gathered at the Paul Gerson school of acting to view a private rehearsal of his one-act play "The Second Story Man," which is one of three socialistic sketches he expects to produce throughout the country under Socialist auspices for the furtherance of the doctrine that equality of operation is the salvation of the world. The audience followed with intense interest the development of the playwright's theme and discovered as soon as the curtains were drawn that he had hit upon a thrilling situation, which unfolded itself with breathless action.

The story of "The Second Story Man" is that of a burglar who is forced to undertake his first job practically by starvation. He has lost his position in the steel works, where one of his eyes is blown out by an explosion of the slag furnace, and he has signed away his claims against the company while lying blind in the hospital. As soon as the panic came the works closed down and he was one of the first to go. His wife died; his baby died of poisoned milk; his little child was killed by a street car. Left alone, he became a "boozer" and a "bum," actuated solely by the desire for food and for revenge against the interests which cheated him out of his rights as a member of society.

By a strange chance he finds himself in the flat of the very lawyer who, acting for the steel company, persuaded him to sign the release for damages—the man he has sworn to kill on sight. He meets the wife who, instead of fainting, proves sympathetic and urges him to tell his story. As he gradually gives her the chronicle of misery she discovers that it is her own husband who has been the direct cause of the hopeless wreck who is speaking to her.

The husband enters. He covers the burglar with a revolver, and for an instant has him at his mercy. His wife takes the weapon from his hand and forces him to recognize his own victim. The husband is remorseful and offers to aid the "second story man," who, however, scorns his help—declares, indeed that he is past help and cannot figure the loss of his wife and babies in money. "What about the other fellows?" he cries. "You've done the same thing to! Who's going to help them?"

The wife sees that all the prosperity of herself and her husband, all her pretty clothes, all her jewels, have been wrung from the anguish and suffering of others. The burglar, in fact, attributes it to "the mill," "the system," which grinds out men's lives for its own perpetuity and can never be checked until a complete change takes place. Even if the husband gives up his work there will be someone else willing to undertake it. An unexpected clash comes when, after all the futile offers of aid from the husband and the wife, the burglar makes his offer—nothing less than the life of the man whose life he had sworn to take. He turns him over to the judgment of his own wife and goes back to the underworld from which he came, leaving the sense of burning injustice and perverted society which his story has excited.

It is impossible in reciting the plot of the play to give any idea of its dramatic values, which are excellent. There is not one draggy moment and each climax, leading up to the culmination, is extremely effective. The action of the piece occupies only about 25 minutes, but it contains enough material for a four-act play.

Mr. Sinclair has been fortunate in securing capable actors. Mr. Chris Lynton, who essays the part of Jim Farraday, the burglar, plays the role with power and pathos, always in character and yet with the rough perception to trace the real source of his wrongs. Mrs. Keith Currier, as the wife, Helen Austin, gives a vivid portrayal of a good hearted woman, ignorant of much of the evil in the world and inexpressibly shocked to find her own husband a party to it.

William Currier, as the husband, plays his part with discretion and gives the feeling that he is a helpless instrument in the purposes of "the system."

If Mr. Sinclair's other two sketches are of the quality of the present playlet, and it is understood that they afford considerable relief in comedy, he will have an evening's entertainment of extraordinary merit and variety, to say nothing of the potent intention back of the effort.

AGAINST UNION PRINTERS

Congress Permits Contracting of the Work on Government Census.

Washington, Feb. 4.—After a long and heated debate the house yesterday agreed by a vote of 127 to 115 to the senate amendment to the census bill permitting the director of the census to have the printing done at private shops if he finds that will be cheaper than at the government printing establishment. As it is asserted that open shops are certain to underbid union shops for this work, the house's vote is construed as a serious blow at trades unions. The work involved is estimated at nearly \$1,000,000.

The unions received a bitter exhortation from Mr. Hepburn, who declared himself strongly opposed to the house allowing itself being dictated to by 2,000,000 men who use their organization to override the 20,000,000 who are not organized.

DANES WIN GLORIOUS VICTORY

Their Agitation Sets Six Russian Revolutionists at Liberty—Case Similar to Ours.

Copenhagen, Feb. 8.—The working people of all Denmark are rejoicing over the fact that the six Russian revolutionists demanded by the bloody Czar have been set at liberty.

Their freedom was demanded by the Socialists when they were first arrested, under the regime of the notorious Alberti, and the agitation has been kept up until at last victory has been won.

The names of the men released are Adolph Orloff, Charles Apaschekrom, Israel Kajat, Alexander Skirgals, Carl Scheiner and R. J. Fischermann.

All of the men were connected with the revolution in the Baltic provinces. They were active on the various provincial committees, and all of them slughters of the Czar, who had life of the short-lived Republic of the Baltic. They escaped to Denmark from Courland, but had hardly touched Danish shores when the slughters of the czar, some of whom had obtained employment in the Danish police, seized and imprisoned them.

There was an immediate outcry on the part of the Danish Socialists, which at first had no effect, but later on, after the Alberti exposures, the public took up the matter and the attempted railroad of the men to Russia was stopped.

This left the revolutionists in prison in this city, where they have been detained until the final decision of the minister of justice, M. Hegstrom, who has declared that the men are political offenders, and on no account to be disturbed in their life in Denmark. The cause of the prisoners was taken up in England before the final decision was reached, and an appeal was sent to the Danish minister of justice by the English sympathizers.

LABOR PARTY FOR SOCIALISM

Conference at Portsmouth Reaffirms Last Year's Resolution but Rejects Constitutional Amendment.

London, Feb. 1.—The annual conference of the Labor party, which has been sitting for the last few days at Portsmouth, has declared itself in favor of socialization by means of production, distribution and exchange, and of the complete emancipation of labor from the domination of capitalism and landlordism, with the establishment of social and economic equality for the sexes.

At the annual conference of the Labor party at Hull last year a similar resolution was adopted. At that same conference a resolution making the Socialist declaration a part of the Labor party constitution was rejected.

A similar resolution at the present conference was again rejected by a vote of 362,000 against 313,000, a decreased vote against the proposed amendment to the constitution. The action of the present conference is a reaffirmation of the resolution for Socialism adopted last year, but Socialism is not yet included in the Labor party constitution.

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MORE WORKERS.

The crying need of the Socialist party at this stage is more workers, better posted workers, local workers who know how to go at the Socialist party work. There are persons by the score anxious and capable of doing this work if they were only trained into what is wanted. The writer often finds women at out of the way points, filled with enthusiasm for the cause of the people. These women are frequently poor and self-supporting. If they were trained to the Socialist work they would not only be able to make a living but to take up and handle the local work at points all over the country, for which there is such crying need. The greatest, most crying need of the Socialist party at the present time is workers who will stay and take control of local points, see that the local officers do their duty, collect dues, conduct meetings, gather all voting Socialists into an organization, distribute and sell literature, push the work on county and city tickets, and do all these numerous things for the lack of which our movement is so deplorably weak at local points. Where a local point has competent people who will do this work, such professional workers are not needed. But hundreds of points have actually no one who is capable of doing this work to a successful result. In consequence there is simply a disconnected mass of aimless voters, who do nothing else, who are incapable of forming a political machine, and can render no effective service to the cause of the working class. It is time the Socialist party had a training school for workers. It should be at the national headquarters, and should be maintained by the national organization. Then these hundreds of eager young men and women who long to do something to advance the army of revolution will become trained for the conflict that is ahead of us, and will not be making over the old mistakes that as often disrupt and ruin a party as advance it.

Some persons are afraid there will be no "incentive" under a system that gives them all they produce instead of one-fifth of it.

THE PARTY OF THE WORKING CLASS.

It looks as though we had passed the danger that the working class of America were going to throw their energy into a labor party distinct from the Socialist party. The action of Gompers last fall and the great masses of organized labor that followed him into the shambles of supporting the democratic party, proclaimed one step, clear and comprehensible, that the idea had penetrated the mentality of American labor that it must take up the political question, to safeguard itself and its organizations. Fortunately for the future of the laboring classes, the Bryan program proved a laughable fiasco. Bryan is dead, Bryanism is dead, the democratic party is dead as a potent possibility, and the American Federation of Labor and imitating organizations are still partyless.

But the arm of awakened British labor stretches across the seas. Kier Hardie, the grand old man of English labor, has his finger on the pulse of the international labor movement. He came from beholding the woes of the suffering and oppressed workers of India, under the merciless lash of the British masters, hailed as the beloved and honored of the British toilers. Hardie has arisen as the type of the worker who perceives the destiny of himself and of his class. Telling in the coal mines from early youth the

horrors of the exploitation of defenseless poor like himself was graven on his soul. Into the labor movement he came, and into the Socialist ranks.
 The Social Democratic Federation was making little headway among the working class. Liebknecht came from Germany to England in 1895, on the Marx anniversary. He addressed the Social Democratic Federation. He reproved it for its attitude towards organized labor. He said that in England the Socialists antagonized the unions while the splendid and progressing German movement worked patiently and fraternally with every possible need of labor.
 Kier Hardie heard his speech and took heed. He left on a trip to study the Socialist movements of Belgium, Holland and Germany, with their splendid achievements in working class solidarity and progress, the homes and clubs of the people, the co-operative industry, and the large parliamentary representation; came back, and organized the Independent Labor Party. The large Socialist and labor group in the British parliament and the awakening of British labor to a sense of political power is the result.

But across the deep American labor still flounders, and votes the tickets of its masters, while it quivers under the lash of injunctions, bullpens, anti-labor legislation and governmental onslaughts on its treasures. The grievance of labor is international, and in the heat of the campaign last fall Hardie sailed for America and Canada. The Socialists thought they could count on the tremendous might his assistance would give. But he made no speeches under the direction of the Socialist party. He spoke instead under the Federated Trades Council of New York. And the news went forth that he had said that the American Socialist party did not represent the working class and did not have its support. It was said that his intention was to form the Independent Labor Party in Canada.

Kier Hardie is again in America. This time rumor carries the message that he is to form an Independent Labor Party with the assistance of the American Federation of Labor. Again he spoke in New York and tells of the progress for labor's relief the parliamentary Socialist contingent has been able to effect this last year—the old age pension act, the eight-hour law for the coal miners. The power and weight of the convention of the United Mine Workers of America was expected to be a favorable opportunity to launch an American Independent Labor Party. But Hardie was studying the political situation of the working class carefully and cautiously. The Indianapolis convention proved to be a tower of strength in Socialism. The Socialist group among the delegates held the balance of power. The ablest men among the officials of the organization proved to be Socialists. When the debate came up on the formation of an Independent Labor Party the Socialists so valiantly defended their position that the American labor movement had the least possible labor party in the large and developing Socialist party, that the motion for the new party was overwhelmingly defeated. The reactionaries (the republicans and democrats), as usual, assisted the progressives (the Socialists) in defeating the half-way people. And Hardie has asserted, confidently at last, that the American Socialist party fills the need of an American labor party.

So we are past the danger of the democracy as a pitfall for labor; we are past the inspired Hearst radicalism in the Independence League; we are past that snare in American politics of a deceptive labor party. For after all, the laboring class of each nation must meet its dangers in its own way, and American labor is too familiar with capitalist political tricks in the formation of such abortions as the Heinze labor party to seriously contemplate any genuine assistance from such quarters.
 There is no relief for labor anywhere but in a progressive, constructive Socialist party—a party that picks its way towards the only relief from exploitation, in the abolition of the weapons of exploitation—the privately owned job. May American labor soon awaken to vitality and purpose along this line.

Did you vote for the system that throws you out of a job?

How much a man believes in Socialism is measured by how much he will do for it.

"The labor of the mechanical factory puts the wageworker in touch with terrible natural forces unknown to the peasant, but instead of being mastered by them he controls them. . . . The practice of the modern workshop teaches the wage-worker scientific determinism, without his needing to pass through the theoretical study of the sciences."—Lafarque.

THE LAW OF WAGES.

Under the present system of production the average wages are limited to the necessary means of subsistence. This has been disputed by certain political economists. In opposition they assert that the price of labor is regulated by the demand for it as compared with the supply of it. The people who assert this look upon labor as they do upon any other kind of merchandise, and they do this quite rightly, for it is with labor as with merchandise or wares, its price is determined by demand and supply. But what is it that regulates, that determines the market price between demand and supply? As we have already seen, this is determined by the cost of production. There is only one measure for everything that comes on the market, whether it be Chinese porcelain, American cotton, asbestos, Circassian slave girls or European workers; that measure is to be found in the demand for and the supply of the article, and the average relation of demand and supply is ultimately determined by the cost of production.

How much, then, does it cost to produce a worker? Evidently just so much as is required to enable another worker to obtain the absolutely necessary means of subsistence for himself and his family. Give him this and he will provide the youngster fast enough, though not solely, perhaps, for the capitalist's sake, and will not even require to be tempted by a profit as do the producers of other wares. In short, wages under free competition, or the cost of production of labor, consist solely of the cost of producing workers.
 Where it is customary to employ children in the factories there a fresh calculation is made. It is very soon found that the father does not require the means of subsistence, say, for a family of average number, but can do with less, as the children themselves contribute toward their own support.

It requires no explanation to show that of all producers the seller of labor is most unfavorably situated under the system of competition. Where would the sellers of other wares be if they could not keep their produce back when the demand was slack? The seller of labor cannot do this. He must sell. Hunger compels him. Further, when the price of labor rises it only makes the lot of the workers ultimately worse, for it brings about an increase in the number of workers. Neither need we explain how it is that no charitable employer can alter this. Whoever attempts to do so is struck down by the dagger of competition.—Ferdinand Lasalle, in "What Is Capital."

SOCIALIST SCHOOLS.

The following statement by the secretary of the Socialist Sunday School Union has been issued:
 "The Socialist Sunday School Union takes this opportunity to announce to the radical public the existence of five flourishing Socialist schools in various parts of Brooklyn and New York.

"The aim and purpose of these schools is double, viz: The destructive work of tearing down old superstitious ideas of territorial patriotism, fixed ideas and ideals on matters in general and working class in particular, and the constructive work of preparing the future citizen for the co-operative commonwealth by giving them unlimited, scientific facts concerning the development of society from its primitive condition to its present industrial status of civilization, leading them through the different stages and changes to the present need of emancipating the wage slave and establishing the industrial republic.

"The public school system, supplemented by the Sunday schools, form the bulwark of capitalism, by keeping the minds of our future men and women befogged as regards the economic interpretation of history and present conditions of society. It is our duty to counteract such influences. The teachers of the various Socialist Sunday schools, together with others deeply interested in the work, organized the Socialist Sunday School Union in order to more effectively organize and systematize both the schools and course of study that is already in the making.

"We appeal to every Socialist capable of assisting this important movement, either by teaching or otherwise, to join us. Advertise our schools among your friends.

"The meetings of the S. S. U. are held in the afternoon of every first Saturday of the month at the RAND SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE, 112 EAST 19TH STREET. The next meetings will be held at the above address at 3 p. m., January 2.

"You can make an excellent beginning of the new year by coming to this meeting, determined to join in the work.

"All communications should be addressed to
 "SECRETARY SOC. S. S. U.,
 "Rand School, 112 East 19th Street, New York City."

The National Committee motion proposed by John Haged, F. P. O'Hare and C. C. Ross of Oklahoma, first published Jan. 16, has been supported by National Committee Member J. W. Perrin of Arkansas.

"For our party and for our party tactics there is but one valid basis the basis of the class struggle, out of which the Socialist party has sprung up, and out of which alone it can draw the necessary strength to bid defiance to every storm and to all its enemies."—Liebknecht.

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Poet's Corner

PUT IN THE SICKLES.

Now the kings grow lean as they sit,
The people grow strong to stand;
The men they trod on and spat,
The dumb, dread people that sat
As corpses cast in a pit
Rise up with God on their hand,
And thrones are hurled in a heap,
And strong men sons of the land
Put in the sickles and reap!

The dumb dread people that sat
All night without screen for the night,
All day without food for the day,
They shall not give their harvest
away,
They shall eat of the fruit and wax
fat,
They shall see the desire of their
sight,
Though the ways of the seasons be
steep,
They shall climb with face to the light,
Put in the sickles and reap.

—Swinburne.

THE DEAD LEVEL OF EQUALITY.

(By Clell G. Fowler.)

One of the hoary untruths that bob up with incredulous persistency is that "Socialism will reduce mankind to the dead level of equality."

The obvious silliness of the contention has been exposed so repeatedly that writers and speakers making it at this late hour reflect both upon their sincerity and intellectual capacity.

The old maxim, "Discretion is the better part of valor," seems to have been forgotten by some contributors to the current literature who endeavor to annihilate the Socialist philosophy at one fell swoop.

A political movement of the working class numbering its adherents by the millions, international in scope and character and having a common ultimate aim in every civilized country of the earth, the socialization of the machinery of production upon which the people collectively depend, with its brave and devoted men and women, comrades all, working incessantly among the exploited of the nations, spreading over the four quarters of the globe the Socialist idea of economic evolution, revolution and social regeneration, affrighting the potentates of semi-feudal monarchies, filling with fear and consternation the oligarchs of "ideal" capitalist republics—a movement of this character and quality is not to be repulsed or shamed by slanderous insinuations that the thing and its promoters "would reduce to a dead level."

But there is a virulent and terrible something that does reduce to a dead level, and its name is Capitalism.

The levelling DOWN process of capitalism manifests itself in a number of ways.

In less than three months after the initial crash in the panic from which the country has not yet recovered its equilibrium, three million workers were thrown out of employment. No longer able to market their labor-power and having no other means of support, thousands took their places in the "bread lines" of the cities.

There was "equality" in the bread lines, even to the division of the food, and there was a suggestion of the dead level.

But it was not Socialism. It was Capitalism.

More than one million children under fifteen years of age are wearing out their young lives in the fields, factories, mines and workshops. "Children should be taught to draw," says Mrs. Carter of Wichita, "to model in clay, paint, sing, and they ought to get acquainted with bees, birds, butterflies and know all the flowers and trees by name."

Well, these children have been reduced to the dead level of equality.

Socialism will construct for them a new environment.

Capitalism will continue to make their present environment worse.

Mr. Jacob A. Riis, in "How the Other Half Lives," has said that in eight years 135,595 families in New York were registered as asking for or receiving charity; also that for five years past one person in every ten who died in the metropolis was buried in the Potter's Field.

These effects of a cause cannot be traced to Socialism.

Something is fast reducing humanity to the dead level of equal poverty.

Capitalism is that monstrous force.

The Socialist idea of equality is consistent. It means equality of opportunity.

The capitalist idea of equality is a travesty. It means "Every man for himself and the devil for all."

Under Socialism the lifting-up process will be well under way.

New incentives will spur men to nobler achievements, "the glory that was Greece and the grandeur that was Rome" will fade into comparative insignificance in the bright light of the Better Day.

International

A STATE COAL MINE.

Encouraged by the success of the State Cold Storage Works and similar enterprises, the labor government of South Australia has decided to acquire a coal mine for use in connection with the State railways, etc. As there are no coal supplies in the state itself, the government is negotiating for the purchase of a mine in New South Wales. It is noteworthy that although New South Wales is rich in coal, it is content to leave its mines to the exploitation of private capitalists, although the state railways are by far the largest coal consumers. Needless to say, the majority of the citizens of New South Wales are consistently anti-Labor and anti-Socialist.

Enrico Ferri, the well known Socialist deputy and criminologist of Italy has been on a speaking tour through the Argentine Republic, South America, and says Socialism is making rapid progress in that country

SOCIALIST GAINS IN GERMAN MUNICIPAL ELECTIONS.

Rixdorf, Germany, Jan. 25.—The Socialists have gained a great victory here, electing six Social-Democrats out of ten seats from this place. The six seats are a clear gain, as in every instance the liberals were replaced in the reichstag. The successful Social-Democrats are: Franke, Hoppe, Fischer, Schuch, Rohr and Zeppewisel. Returns from the municipal elections throughout the Black Forest and South Bavarian districts indicate great gains for the Social-Democrats everywhere. In Ebersgrund and Rheindorf, Socialist mayors were elected. In Schneeberg the Social-Democrats elected the entire municipal council of six. In Lichtenhain, near ena, the entire council is now composed of Social-Democrats for the first time in the history of the commune, this election showing a clear Social-Democratic gain of five seats in the council. In Unterwitzbach, the elections were held for two seats in the council and the Social-Democrats gained both. Here in Munich at the judicial elections the Social-Democrats for the first time in the history of the city have succeeded in electing party members to the magistracy. Two Socialists were among those chosen. The party is celebrating the victory in approved style by parades and processions.

The Catholic Socialist Society is an organization that is sweeping through Scotland in a manner that is startling capitalism. Two years ago the first local organization was formed in Glasgow. Now there is a branch of the society in every city and town of importance in Scotland and the movement has spread into England. The Catholic Socialist Society is endeavoring to break down the prejudice that has existed among the members of that denomination against Socialism. The Catholic Socialist, a weekly paper, is about to be launched. Many priests have expressed sympathy with the movement.

WIPE OUT LORDS.

London, Jan. 30.—Political developments of the last days have shown conclusively that England is approaching the most startling crisis it has known in three-quarters of a century.

The existence of the house of lords is at stake. No such important constitutional issue has been raised in Great Britain since 1832, when the right of franchise, previously based strictly on property qualifications, was made practically universal.

The lords have been attacked before, but never very seriously. It looks now as if their years—if not their days—as a legislative body are numbered. Ending the old English system of hereditary law-making will involve practical reconstruction of the country's constitution.

Will Wipe Out the Peers.

Nine out of ten Englishmen have long regarded the peers as a foolish anachronism. Bound as the nation is, to precedent, however, it has been hard to inaugurate a vigorous movement toward reform. At last the liberals—the dominant British political party—have declared they will never rest until some form of elective upper house of parliament is substituted for the present hereditary one. For three years the liberals have been in office with an overwhelming majority in the house of commons. Allowing for all possible combinations against them, they have approximately 100 on any party issue. But despite their numerical superiority they have been practically impotent. The peers have thwarted them at every turn.

National

WISCONSIN.

The fight of the Social-Democrats for the public schools was renewed in the Milwaukee city council last Monday. Alderman Melms (Social-Democrat) made another warm plea for the schools. He pointed out that with the exception of St. Louis and Buffalo there was no other city of its size in the United States with as small an annual appropriation for the public schools as Milwaukee. His arguments seemed to have some weight, for upon the rollcall the council lacked only one vote of passing the full appropriation of \$350,000 for the school fund. The nine Social-Democratic aldermen, of course, all voted in the affirmative. As a compromise, \$245,000 was voted. This was at least a gain from the contemptible sum of \$120,000 with which Mayor Rose wanted to put off the public schools. Thus our Social-Democratic aldermen have made a fine record in their war against illiteracy.

During the long fight over the United States senatorship in the Wisconsin legislature, one result comes out the same on each ballot: "Rummel (Social Democrat), 4."

Persecution seems to be helping the Socialist cause in Two Rivers. Comrade Althen, editor of the Two Rivers Reporter, it will be remembered, was found guilty of criminal libel for exposing a graft case. He was fined \$168. But that simply woke up our people. Mass meetings were held last Saturday and Sunday in Manitowoc and Two Rivers. In vain did the worst blizzard of the year conspire to aid the capitalistic forces. Comrade Thompson walked to Two Rivers, when the cars could not run, and good audiences turned out at both meetings in spite of the storm. A collection was taken up which covered the entire amount of the fine. Best of all, the affair has stirred up the community and excited new interest in our movement. Let the capitalists keep up their prosecutions! It is only grist for our mill.

The National Executive Committee, which convened at 1 p. m. Friday, Jan. 22, adjourned at 1:20 p. m. Sunday, Jan. 24. The minutes of the session have been printed in circular form and sent out to the weekly mailing list.

National Committee Motion No. 1, upon which the vote closed an. 26 and providing Esperanto as the official language of the International Socialist congress, was defeated by the following vote: Yes, 2; No, 51; not voting, 12. Six members of the National Committee in excess of the number allowed by the apportionment, are carried on the list owing to the failure on the part of the state organizations to report the members who should be dropped.

STATE CONVENTION IN MICHIGAN

A delegate state convention will be held in Grand Rapids, Mich., at 11 o'clock Friday morning, Feb. 12, for the purpose of nominating candidates for justices of the supreme court, two candidates for the office of regents of the university, one candidate for the office of superintendent of public instruction, one candidate for member of the state board of education, and six candidates for the state board of agriculture. Also for the transaction of such business as may come before the convention. The basis of representation by counties will be one delegate for each of the 83 counties and one additional delegate for each 100, or a major fraction of votes cast for secretary of state in the 1908 election. Saturday, Feb. 6, is named for holding county conventions for electing delegates.

SOCIALIST ACTIVE IN PITTSBURG

John Spargo will speak in Wilmerding, Pa., Friday evening, Feb. 12, in Homestead Saturday evening, Feb. 13, and in Liberty hall, 401 Liberty avenue, Pittsburg, Sunday evening, Feb. 14. His meetings will undoubtedly equal those spoken at by May Wood-Simons. Application has been made for securing John Brown for three dates in Pittsburg also. Any local that desires to have him speak under its auspices should make application immediately. Sunday afternoon, Feb. 14, a general membership meeting will be held in Liberty hall. A financial secretary will have to be elected and many other matters of importance will have to be passed upon. Seymour Steadman will be in the state the last of the month and any branch desiring his services should communicate with the headquarters without delay. J. W. Slayton, organizer, will debate with H. Clay Rockwell of New York in East Liverpool Thursday, Feb. 11.

"Socialism does not require a change in human nature, but human nature does require a change in society. And that change is Socialism."

Women's Clubs

WHY WOMEN SHOULD VOTE.

(By Alice Stone Blackwell.)

1. Because it is fair and right that those who must obey the laws should have a voice in making them, and that those who must pay taxes should have a vote as to the size of the tax and the way it shall be spent.

2. Because the moral, educational, and humane legislation desired by women would be got more easily if women had votes. New York women have worked in vain for years to secure a legislative appropriation to found a state industrial school for girls. Colorado women worked in vain for one till they got the ballot; then the legislature promptly granted it.

3. Because laws unjust to women would be amended more quickly. It cost Massachusetts 55 years of effort to secure the law making mothers equal guardians of their children with the fathers. In Colorado, after women were enfranchised, the very next legislature granted it. After more than half a century of agitation by women for this reform, only 13 out of our 45 states now give equal guardianship to mothers.

4. Because disfranchisement helps to keep wages down. Hon. Carroll D. Wright, national commissioner of labor, said in an address delivered at Smith college on Feb. 22, 1902: "The lack of direct political influence constitutes a powerful reason why women's wages have been kept at a minimum."

5. Because equal suffrage would increase the proportion of educated voters. The high schools of every state in the union are graduating more girls than boys—often twice or three times as many. (Report of Commissioner of Education.)

6. Because it would increase the proportion of native-born voters. In the three years from June 30, 1900, to June 30, 1903, there landed in the United States 1,344,622 foreign men, and only 561,746 foreign women. (Report of Commissioner General of Immigration.)

7. Because it would increase the moral and law-abiding vote very much while increasing the vicious and criminal vote very little. The U. S. Census of 1890* gives the statistics of men and women in the states prisons of the different states. Omitting fractions, they are as follows:

In the District of Columbia, women constitute 17 per cent of the prisoners; in Massachusetts and Rhode Island, 14 per cent; in New York, 13; in Louisiana, 12; in Virginia, 11; in New Jersey, 10; in Pennsylvania and Maryland, 9; in Connecticut, 8; in Alabama, New Hampshire, Ohio and South Carolina, 7; in Florida, Maine, Mississippi, New Mexico and Tennessee, 6; in Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kentucky, Michigan, Missouri, North Carolina and West Virginia, 5; in Arkansas and Delaware, 4; in California, Minnesota, North Dakota, Texas and Vermont, 3; in Colorado, Iowa, Montana, Nebraska and Utah, 2; in Arizona, Kansas, Nevada, and South Dakota, 1; in Washington, four-fifths of 1 per cent; in Oregon and Wisconsin, two-fifths of one per cent; in Wyoming and Idaho, none.

8. Because it leads to fair treatment of women in the public service. In Massachusetts the average pay of a female teacher is about one-third that of a male teacher, and in almost all the states it is unequal. In Wyoming and Utah the law provides that they shall receive equal pay for equal work. (Revised Statutes of Wyoming, Section 614; Revised Statutes of Utah, Section 1853.)

9. Because legislation for the protection of children would be secured more easily. Judge Lindsey, of the Denver Juvenile court, writes in Progress for July, 1904: "We have in Colorado the most advanced laws of any state in the union for the care and protection of the home and the children. These laws, in my opinion, would not exist at this time if it were not for the powerful influence of woman suffrage."

10. Because it is the quietest, easiest, most dignified and least conspicuous way of influencing public affairs. It takes much less expenditure of time, labor and personal presence to go up to a ballot box, drop in a slip of paper, and come away, than to persuade a multitude of miscellaneous voters to vote right.

11. Because it would make women more broad-minded. Prof. Edward H. Griggs says: "The ballot is an educator, and women will become more practical and more wise in using it."

12. Because woman's ballot would make it harder for notoriously bad candidates to be nominated or elected. In the equal suffrage states, both parties have to put up men of respectable character or lose the women's vote.

13. It would increase women's influence. Mrs. Mary C. C. Bradford, president of the Colorado State Federation of Women's Clubs, said at the National Convention in Washington in February, 1904:

"Instead of woman's influence being lessened by the ballot it is greatly increased. Last year there were so many members of the legislature with bills which they wanted the club women to indorse that the social science department of the state federation had to sit one day each week to confer with these legislators who were seeking our indorsement. Club women outside the suffrage states do not have this experience."

14. Because it would help those women who need help the most. Theodore Roosevelt recommended woman suffrage in his message to the New York legislature. On being asked why, he is reported to have answered that many women have a very hard time, working women especially, and if the ballot would help them, even a little, he was willing to see it tried. Mrs. Maud Nathan, president of the National Consumers' League, said in an address at the National Suffrage Convention in Washington in February, 1904: "My experience in investigating the condition of women wage-earners warrants the assertion that some of the evils from which they suffer would not exist if women had the ballot. * * * In the states where women vote, there is far better enforcement of the laws which protect working girls."

15. Because it is a maxim in war, "Always do the things to which your adversary particularly objects." Every vicious interest in the country would rather continue to contend with woman's indirect influence than try to cope with woman's vote.

16. Because experience has proved it to be good. Women have for years been voting, literally by hundreds of thousands, in England, Scotland, Ireland, Australia, New Zealand, Canada,

Wyoming, Colorado, Kansas, Utah and Idaho. In all these places put together, the opponents have not yet found a dozen respectable men who assert over their own names and addresses that the results have been bad, while scores of prominent men and women testify that it has done good. An ounce of fact is worth a ton of theory.

*The figures from the census of 1900 are not yet tabulated.

PRIEST WORKS AGAINST THE SOCIALISTS.

Through the efforts of a Polish Catholic priest, who looks upon Socialism as a dangerous thing, a masquerade ball which was to have been held under the auspices of the Polish Socialist local of East Chicago, Ind., had to be called off. The priest used his religious influence on the hall owners and forbade them to rent their property to Socialists. The result of this action was that the Socialists had to either rent a hall in an out of the way place or postpone the masquerade indefinitely.

Manhattan shows the constructive fiber that make a Socialist movement in action and not merely in a lot of hot air that accomplishes nothing. A local has been organized at Lima with twelve members. A fine public meeting was held and a dance afterwards. Local Lima promises to be one of the live wires of the state.

Subs are coming in each day from the coal camps of Cascade county, Gallatin Valley, Dillon, Lima, Dell and Fergus county are rolling up a large circulation for the News.

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State Department

ABOUT THE SODOM CITY ON THE MISSISSIPPI RIVER.

Do you know what is the matter with the great mill city on the upper Mississippi? Or, perchance, you do not know that there is something the matter. I deem it wise and opportune to write something on that subject. The workers of America don't know that this queenly city has a skeleton in its closet. It is the skeleton from committed infanticide. Minneapolis is the modern Herodias of America. Bethlehem tragedies are always the work of the presence of a Herod, and his capitalist spirited wife. Volumes upon volumes might be written upon the cruel infanticide attached to the fame of Minneapolis, and then the truth remains not half told.

In the eventual passing of the year 1886, a young man appeared in Minneapolis with an extraordinary message to rich and poor. Expressed in so many words, the essential features of this message were these: "Workers of Minnesota, unite. You have nothing whatever in this world to lose but your chains! It is turning time that you unite. Listen to me, workers. Unite! I say it to you fast and furiously."

The message of this young man, a student of the state university, was given unusual heed. But it was the heed that criminals entertain. Minneapolis did not follow the example of Nineveh. No, it preferred to imitate Herod. And so a well designed, carefully planned political infanticide was instead committed by this cluster of a city. And not a word has yet been said in regard to this most inhuman of all crimes. What a cruel motherhood, whose record of infanticide is her only womanly record! But what is the matter with the Twin City on Mississippi. I wish all the United Socialist press all over America would institute a searchlight inquiry into this crime. It would lay bare the inner workings of capitalist politics, sanctioned by the church. Every church organization in Minneapolis sanctioned the infanticide program. One of them has the record of wife-stealing King David's old trick. But King David is known as a promoter of political infanticide, the way he treated his son Absalom. So, of course, the church in question will no doubt justify its sensational crime by quoting precedents. Years before the Socialist doctrines were heard of through any press of its own, the Minneapolis papers were full of themes and addresses and platform oratory of, from and by this young student. Like a sudden flashlight, seen and observed by all, Socialism, the gospel of the modern poor, came and went nobody knew where. Ask the workers? They are silent on this subject when they ought for once to imitate Balaam's ass. Ask the preachers? They are silent, because they followed Annanias' old, shrewd advice: "Better that one man dies than that all should perish,"—that is, get common sense. Ask the newspapers of Minnesota? Silence! Because the whole outfit conspired to undo the splendid, courageous beginning. Ask the rich? Are you aware that Minnesota harbors the only millionaire priest on the American soil—John Ireland!

Furthermore, it is likely that an honest, self-sacrificing movement in the interest of pilfered, Lazarus-like laborers would receive encouragement from a Jim Hill, a Tom Lowry, a Pillsbury, a Washburn, a T. B. Walker?—these real estate gluttons of Minneapolis! Hence the splendid beginning, the right kind of all creative beginnings, was deliberately smothered to death! Why? The question can only be answered by quoting God's words to Job: "Clothe thee in majesty and honor." It is in our days as it was of old, an unpardonable sin to speak, unless clothed with the peacock feathers of wealth.

But speak we will. The time has come when the history of the horrible Minneapolis infanticide will be the theme of conversation by every man, woman and child of this crime-staggered continent. Before Gronlund, Bellamy, Debs, Simon, Jack London, Emma Goldman and other famous agitators and representatives of workingmen's sacred rights on this earth, this movement in the geographical center of republican America had a surprisingly vigorous existence. But owing to the foul, capable teaching of the human heart, it was doomed, damnably doomed. This movement of Socialism in Minneapolis already in the eighties, is never spoken of today. We seldom, if ever, hear anything of the seven Chicago martyrs! More in detail as to the Minneapolis awful tragedy in my next article. Meanwhile, I wish the Montana News great prosperity and Socialist blessings during the ensuing year of grace to speak a la eglise, if you please.

JAMES NOODLE.

Missoula orders two dozen constitutions.

Local Havre sends in \$5.55 for due stamps and supplies.

A. Schaefer sends in \$1 for subs from Manhattan.

Comrade Holt gets in on the dollar plan for subs.

Comrade Isaacson of Missoula sends in \$5 as a donation.

Roy Pennicott sends in for \$3.00 of stamps for the Livingston local.

Friday takes \$5.00 more of due stamps and two dozen constitutions.

Orders for job work are commencing to root into the News office again.

Comrade Buzzell has been doing good and active work in Flathead county.

Local Dillon acted on six applications for membership at the meeting last Sunday night.

We expect to see a local organized at the new town of Three Forks on the Milwaukee railroad.

Greely Baker was in from Lombard and paid his dues as member at large and paid up for ten sub cards.

Sell five subs for the Montana News if you think we need a working class press in this section of the country.

A dance was given by the Socialists of Dell recently. There is no organization at Dell, but there will soon be a local organized.

Subs are rolling in from Belt, Stockett and Sand Coulee these days. It takes the coal diggers to boost the circulation of a Socialist paper.

If you are opposed to a meeting of the State committee that can only be attended by those whose pocket books will allow them. Then vote YES on "Referendum B."

The News would like the names and addresses of all school teachers who are Socialists. If you know of any have them communicate with us.

S. Maxwell was a visitor at the News office during the past week. Maxwell is a boomer machinist and, like all the rest of that fraternity, a live wire.

The Socialists of Mondak are talking organization. Applications for membership at large have been received from two Socialists at that place.

Shall only locals whose treasury is strong enough to send a delegate to the State Committee Meeting be represented or shall all the locals be represented? That is the question that is to be solved by Referendum B. If you are in favor of the latter, vote YES.

The circulation of the News is on the upward grade once more. Last week we put out one hundred more papers than the week before, besides having a large number of expirations to take off the mailing list.

Local Lewistown sent in \$30 to pay for sixty subs. Looks as if Lewistown don't want a Socialist paper in the state. Things are coming our way now. Grab onto the rope, boys, and walk right away with the circulation.

Local Manhattan sends in \$5.00 for due stamps and \$1.00 for constitutions. Comrade Monroe writes that the local desires Mrs. Hazlett for a series of three lectures. The local intends giving a dance in the near future.

Comrade Eastlick writes as follows: "I am sending you five subscriptions to the News. They are all Socialists. I believe it is the duty of every Socialist in Montana to take the News and I will not let up till they all take it here. Who is next to make this resolve?"

Every party member should vote on "Referendum B." If you believe that the State Committee should meet when convenient for the majority of the members to attend and not when it suits the whim of one man who may succeed in securing a second to his motions. Then vote YES.

Comrade Friday of Manhattan, state committeeman from that point, sends in two subs. He writes: "I am going to work for the News and get all the subs I can, if it is not a 'clean sheet' for advertising banks and saloons. I do not look at things in that light. Take all the ads you can get. It all helps to build up the paper."

THE PRIEST AND THE DEVIL.

(By Feodor Dostolevski.)
(Feodor Dostolevski achieved fame as the author of two of the most powerful psychological studies ever penned—namely, "Poor Folk" and "The Crime and the Punishment"—both of which have been translated into most European languages. During his incarceration, for political reasons, in the terrible fortress of St. Peter and Paul—an imprisonment which ruined his constitution and caused his early death—he wrote the following sketch upon the wall of his cell. Until recently no one but the prison officials had seen it; but P. Narodny, who was immured in the fortress for many years, found means of copying it, and on regaining his liberty gave to the world a work which for more than half a century remained hidden in the darkness of the prison.)

Before the altar in a splendid church, glistening with gold and silver and lit up by a multitude of candles, stood a priest arrayed in beautiful robe and gorgeous mantle. He was a portly, dignified man, with ruddy cheeks and well-kept beard. His voice was sonorous and his mien haughty. His appearance was in keeping with the church, which glowed and shone with luxury.

The congregation, however, presented a different picture. It consisted mostly of poor working-men and peasants, old women and beggars. Their clothing was shabby and exhaled the peculiar odor of poverty. Their thin faces bore the marks of hunger and their hands the marks of toil. It was a picture of want and misery.

The priest burned incense before the holy pictures, and then pliously and solemnly raised his voice and preached.

"My dear brethren in Christ," he said, "our dear Lord gave you life, and it is your duty to be satisfied with it. But are you satisfied? No."

"First of all, you do not have enough faith in our dear Lord and his saints and miracles. You do not give as freely as you should from your earnings to the holy church."

"In the second place, you do not obey the authorities. You oppose the powers of the world, the Czar and his officers. You despise the laws."

"It is written in the Bible, 'Give unto Caesar that which is Caesar's, and give unto God that which is God's.' But you do not do it! And do you know what this means? This is a deadly sin. Indeed, I tell you, it is the devil who is tempting you to go his way. It is he who tempts your souls, and you imagine it is your own free will that prompts you to act in this way. His will it is, not yours. He is waiting for your death. He is burning with eagerness to possess your souls. He will dance before the flames of hell, in which your souls will suffer agonies."

"Therefore, I warn you, my brethren, I admonish you to leave the path of damnation. There is still time. O God, have mercy!"

The people listened, trembling. They believed the priest's solemn words. They sighed and crossed themselves, and fervently kissed the floor. The priest also crossed himself, turned his back to the people, and smiled.

It so happened that the devil was just passing by the church while the priest was speaking thus to the people. He heard his name mentioned, so he stood by the open window and listened. He saw the people kiss the priest's hand. He saw how the priest, bending before a gilded picture of some saint, hastily pocketed the money which the poor people had put down there for the holy church. This provoked the devil, and no sooner did the priest leave the church than he ran after him and caught hold of his holy mantle.

"Hello, you fat little father!" he said. "What made you lie so to those poor misled people? What tortures of hell did you depict? Don't you know they are already suffering the tortures of hell in their earthly lives? Don't you know that you and the authorities of the state are my representatives on earth? It is you who make them suffer the pains of hell with which you threaten them. Don't you know this? Well, then, come with me."

The devil grabbed the priest by the collar, lifted him high in the air, and carried him to a factory, to an iron foundry. He saw the workmen there, running and hurrying to and fro and toiling in the scorching heat. Very soon the thick, heavy air and the heat are too much for the priest. With tears in his eyes, he pleads with the devil: "Let me go! Let me leave this hell!"

"Oh, my dear friend, I must show you many more places." The devil gets hold of him again and drags him off to a farm. There he sees the workmen threshing the grain. The dust and heat are insufferable. The overseer carries a knout, and unmercifully beats anyone who falls to the ground overcome by hard work or hunger.

Next the priest is taken to the huts where those same workers live with their families—dirty, cold, smoky, ill-smelling holes. The devil grins. He points out the poverty and hardship which are at home here.

"Well, isn't this enough?" he asks. And it seems as if even he, the devil, pities the people. The pious servant of God can hardly bear it. With uplifted hands he begs: "Let me go away from here. Yes, yes! This is hell on earth!"

"Well, then, you see. And you still promise them another hell. You torment them, torture them to death mentally when they are already all but dead physically! Come on! I will show you one more hell—one more, the very worst!"

He took him to a prison and showed him a dungeon, with its foul air and the many human forms, robbed of all health and energy, lying on the floor, covered with vermin that were devouring their poor naked, emaciated bodies.

"Take off your silken clothes," said the devil to the priest; "put on your ankles heavy chains such as these unfortunate wear; lie down on the cold and filthy floor—and then talk to them about a hell that still awaits them!"

"No, no!" answered the priest. "I cannot think of anything more dreadful than this. I entreat you, let me go away from here!"

"Yes, this is hell. There can be no worse hell than this. Did you not know it? Did you not know that these men and women whom you were frightening with the picture of a hell hereafter—did you not know that they are in hell right here, before they die?"

The priest hung his head. He did not know where to look in his confusion.

The devil smiled maliciously. "Yes, little father, you are going to say that the world likes to be cheated. Well, now!" and he released his hold.

The priest tucked up his long mantle and ran as fast as his legs would carry him.

The devil watched and laughed. This story came into my mind while listening to the sermon of the prison chaplain, and I wrote it down on the wall today, Dec. 13, 1849.

A PRISONER.
—Common Sense.

BASIS OF THE CLASS STRUGGLE.

All the unions called into existence by the activities of man, are the children of his calculation. It is the joining of something together for some purpose that the singles could not serve. The singles so united co-operate where the singles were found, or thought to be, inadequate. A thought by itself is of very little value except as its framer may unite it with other thoughts in the establishing of a fact or a scientific truth.

The men and women who could to some degree master the unity of thought are the ones who have added to and helped to build for the world its present stock of knowledge, which is our navigation on the sea of life, and gives us a method of distinguishing between right and wrong, good and bad; gives us some purpose of life, and gives us what guidance there is to our struggle for existence.

Everything in life must struggle for its existence. Human beings guided by what knowledge they have, make the struggle most effective in the securing of their greatest wants. Anything in life that does not follow this iron law, in the struggle for existence, dies in the struggle; and as the struggle for physical existence is the main struggle, it naturally follows that man should first develop and fit himself for that struggle. This does not deny the truth that there is another struggle for intellectual attainments and mental excellence, but so far in the life of man that struggle has been of a secondary order because of its secondary position. In the supplying of their physical wants, or in the making of their livelihood, men enter certain necessary, involuntary industrial relations, which correspond to whatever stage society has reached in the development of its material productive powers. The totality of these industrial relations constitute the economic structure of society, and is the real basis upon which the legal and political superstructure is built, and to which definite forms of social consciousness correspond.

The methods of producing the material livelihood determines the social, political and intellectual life processes in general. It is not man's consciousness which determines his life; on the contrary, it is his social life that determines his consciousness, and as it is in the order of all progress to build from the single toward the concrete whole, and as the whole cannot be reached by all of the singles at the same time, they, however, clearly indicate their motion towards a whole by their constant grouping on the way wherever the material productive forces have reached a stage that divides society into two distinct classes.

Men of sensitive intellect and energy will become conscious of their class, and with their class they will struggle against all other classes. Whenever a strata or class in society ceases to struggle for the preservation of its class and its absorption by another class; and observing how this struggle is slowly submerging the old commercial, or merchant class, the fierce antagonism now existing between capital and labor impels both classes toward a center or basis of justice not found in their present relations.

The base of contention underlying all struggles between capital and labor is found in the division of the product of labor, both wanting a larger share than the other is willing to grant. Unthinkingly, the question might be asked: "Why do they not cease an industrial relation that must lead to a conflict harmful to both sides?" The answer is found in observation of the fact that capital now owns the tools of production, while labor owns the muscle and energy need in production. Added also to the impossibility of separation is the knowledge of the fact that with their united efforts they have increased their effectiveness to such a degree that conflict appears more endurable than a return to the old methods, if such a course were open. It is not the worker's share in the division of his labor that is wholly the cause of his discontent. It is the ever dawning conviction of the contradiction in the laws that govern

the capitalistic form of production. Because of the small share secured by them in return for their labor, there will of necessity accumulate an enormous amount of wealth in the hands of capital, which the capitalists will be unable to consume or dispose of, and thus compel production to be sometimes spasmodic and sometimes indefinitely postponed.

The capitalists see the working class being organized by the very forces of capitalistic production; that it is educating them to understand their power and possibilities. If labor could be held in its present state, capital would make no war upon it; but it fears that the discontent of the working class will grow, that its sense of injustice will accumulate, that it will develop a code of ethics of its own. Having no property of their own, the working men will lose all sense of the sacredness of private property, most property being owned by corporations, having no body to be kicked and no soul to be damned, and having nothing to lose they will grow bold; that they will forget their duties to their families in proportion as they become unable to do anything for them, and who are now for the most part their co-workers, instead of dependents. But their sense of duty to their class will be constantly growing upon them during the long period of struggle preceding the final encounter.

JAMES ERICKSON,
(From the Labor World.)

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